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SKETCH of the POLITICAL STATE of AMERICA.

NUMBER III.

AMONG the causes of a domestic nature, to which we can attribute our late unhappy situation, may be placed those ill-judged, impolitic commercial connections, and speculations in this country, consequent upon the peace, and none perhaps may be esteemed more pernicious to us, than our large importations of British luxuries, while we were prohibited to pay for them in any staples of our country; and little else than specie, which we most wanted at home, was suffered to be taken in return: For though the exportation of our Tobacco, in the first instance, promised a good freight, yet this, from a variety of causes, was soon found injurious, and in many instances, destructive to those who were largely concerned in it—to which the discouragement, arising from the high duties imposed by the British government, and the exorbitant commissions charged by their merchants, may be ascribed as efficient causes—while the narrow channel, through which it could be introduced into France, has never held out a sufficient inducement to the adventurer. Other evils which we have experienced may be said to have arose from too licentious notions of liberty, which the early policy of the day might have given rise to, as it would not have been prudent to inform the people they were contending only for a change of rulers—but absolute freedom, without restraint, was held out as the palm of victory: Thus the public at large were led to confound the ideas of natural and political, or civil liberty—and by experience only, could be taught the essential difference. The same policy as above referred to, carried into the principles of taxation, may be viewed as another ground of our misfortunes, as government withholding for so long a time, in the early stage of the war, to raise any revenue by taxes, the community were led to suppose all future impositions of the kind as not arising from necessity, and to answer the exigencies of Government, but as the arbitrary mandates of their rulers, for their own power and aggrandizement—and even those who knew it to be the price of our liberty, were almost induced to relinquish an object so dear in its purchase.

The floods of unfunded paper money, issued as a substitute for taxation, gave every opportunity to the knavish and ill-minded part of the community, to cheat and defraud their neighbours, and all under the sanction of solemn acts of Legislative authority; and eventually a greater part of this ideal money funk worthless in the hands of those who were best able to bear it—and without any prospect of redress: But during its currency, many people deferred calling for those dues which they knew no way of justly obtaining; but after the channels of justice were once more opened without any barrier, those of this class, some from motives of resentment, and others from real necessity, almost universally commenced their suits for those balances, which were by this time grown more burthensome by an accumulated interest; and perhaps the effects of those habits upon our future intercourse with each other, which were impressed by a long converse in large sums, may not be placed among the least injurious consequences from the use of paper money. I venture to rank them among the greatest, as fixed habits are not readily removed, and a certain association of ideas will frequently remain in the mind after the cause which produced them has ceased to exist.

AMERICANUS.

(To be continued.)

COMMERCE.

Further extracts from the "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

"Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum

"Tendimus."

VIRG.

MULTIFARIOUS have been the speeches and publications upon the now visionary schemes of a rigid national economy, and republican virtue. Amusing pictures! But where are the originals! Painful retrospect! Blended—alas—with the diluvian wreck! And only serve to throw a melancholy gloom over all future prospects. The opinions, and habits of mankind, are perpetually changing, and therefore preclude all rational hopes of success, in the endeavors to apply the most approved practices and manners of ancient times to the present day.

It is true we are in our infant state, politically considered; but morally considered, we are by no means infants; we are beyond that period of flexible docility; we may be said to be at least initiated, if we are not adepts, in all the arts, refinements, habits, luxuries, extravagancies, follies, vices, and wants, of the oldest and most corrupt monarchies: Rome boasted her CINCINNATUS, and

America can boast her CINCINNATI, a society, chiefly composed of military patriots, who may, with propriety, be said to be followers, tho' perhaps not all scrupulous imitators of their ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSOR.

Agriculture, arts, manufactures, and industry, are promising prefaces of future greatness; but if these are not attainable, without a rigid adherence to that simplicity of manners, which is said to have characterized those great and virtuous patriots of Greece and Rome, who have been so often held up as our great exemplars, I fear we may never expect to see them flourish in America.

When the great and important question of national revenue is agitating in the grand councils of the nation, it will be found necessary to recur to every probable source, and to contrive to give all possible encouragement and efficiency to each; this will naturally lead to the consideration of the importance of a free, well regulated, and extensive commerce, which upon the most accurate and profound investigation, of its various productive influence, and effects, will discover, what at this day, chiefly gives vigor, life, and energy to the husbandman, mechanic, manufacturer, and laborer; and from whence modern states principally derive the necessary resources for the support of government: In the solemn, national deliberations, upon this deep, this wide, this immeasurable subject, it will probably be found necessary, with our political, to unite the best commercial knowledge, and experience, that can be collected in America.

"Est laudatissimus, qui per se cuncta ridebit;"

"Sed laudandus et is, qui parca recta monenti."

The present exhausted state of our public and private finances, and the consequent want of means to supply the exigencies, and support the credit and dignity of government, are universally bruited, acknowledged, felt and deplored: The general decay of trade may doubtless be considered one of the principal causes, as also of the ruinous migration of our citizens from the sea ports into the remote interior country, and even into the British, and other foreign dominions.

The French merchants have made several attempts to carry on the whale fishery from Dunkirk, and although the King of France had furnished them with large sums of money upon the very advantageous terms of giving all the profits of that trade to the merchants, with the use of the money without interest, and sustaining all the loss of unsuccessful voyages, yet their fishery never succeeded, until Americans, principally from the State of Massachusetts, were induced by the very great encouragement offered by the merchants in Dunkirk, and the want of employ at home, to enter into their service, since which, the French government has prohibited the free importation of whale oil from foreign dominions. The English owe also their success in the whale fishery chiefly to Americans; for notwithstanding the immense bounties paid by the British government for its encouragement, they could never succeed until they employed Americans, who are also very well paid and greatly encouraged in their service.

The destructive influence of a declining commerce acts like a gangrene, which unless timely checked will soon spread over the whole body, and become incurable: Every lover of his country will therefore be solicitous to find out some speedy remedy for this alarming evil: There are no possible adequate substitutes for the loss of commerce: Our first grand object therefore is its restoration. I presume not to dictate or direct, it is a subject that will require the deepest deliberations and researches of the wisest and most experienced men in America fully to comprehend: It probably belongs to no one man existing, to possess all the qualifications requisite to trace the course of American commerce through all her numerous, intricate and yet untrodden paths; and to point out those, and only those, that shall lead the United States to future glory and prosperity. I am sanguine in the belief of the possibility, that we may one day become a great, commercial, and flourishing nation; but if in pursuit of the means, we should unfortunately stumble again on unfunded paper money, or any similar species of fraud, we shall assuredly give a fatal stab to our national credit in its infancy, and blast the success of the best concerted plans: Palliatives at best are poor pitiful expedients, and never to be applied, but in the most desperate, or incurable causes. Paper money will invariably operate in the body politic, as spirituous liquors on the human body, which often produce a momentary relief, or giddy joy, the effects of a delirium; but while they intoxicate the brain, and lull the senses, they prey upon the vitals, and ultimately destroy the constitution: "But while a nation can preserve its credit at home, and abroad, there are no difficulties to be deemed insurmountable." Loaded with an enormous debt beyond the possibility of payment, and which would annihilate

the credit of any other nation on the globe, and burthened with taxes which her commerce alone enables her to support; Great Britain, from her uniform sacred regard to all her pecuniary obligations, and transactions, foreign and domestic; and her constant punctual discharge of the interest of all loans; though just emerged from a long, expensive, unsuccessful war, now stands, commercially considered, the unrivalled mistress of the world: Her revenues are immense; her credit at home and abroad unbanded; her funds the great reservoir of the treasures of the globe; the bank of England full and running over; ships openly, or disguisedly, but really owned by British subjects, swarming and evidently, taking the lead in commerce of every other nation in all the parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in America; openly monopolizing the trade in the few sea ports of Austrian Flanders, secretly possessing a large share in every lucrative branch of the French trade, particularly their African trade; draining Portugal and her Colonies in the east and west; leaving Spain but little to boast of all those precious Mexican and Peruvian harvests drawn from the bowels, or the bosom of her prolific earth; profiting greatly in her commercial intercourse with almost every other nation; and wisely jealous and tenacious of the exclusive possession of all the benefits arising from the trade with her own colonies.

Thus, the little island of Britain, maintains the right and glory of being considered, and acknowledged the great Emporium of the world. Yet such is the present state of corruption, dissipation, extravagance, and immense expence of that nation in every department, there are only wanted the united, well directed exertions of the American States, with industry, and their wonted activity and enterprise, soon to lop off many of the most valuable branches of their trade; it is well known that "the difference of three or four per cent. will carry the trade of the world." E. C.

NEW-YORK.

PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES.

TUESDAY, 28th APRIL, 1789.

DEBATE upon the IMPOST on MOLASSES continued.

Mr. MADISON, after an exordium, observed, This duty, it is said, will operate against a beneficial branch of commerce, carried on with our allies; but what was the state of facts previous to the revolution? This trade supported itself, notwithstanding the article of molasses was then subject to a duty, and foreign rum was imported duty free: Now, there is a heavy duty on rum, and yet this article, it is contended can not bear a tax—if the manufacture of rum was in a flourishing condition, when it had to combat a duty, and the influx of foreign spirits, it appears absurd to suppose, that the proposed duty, will annihilate the trade. There is a duty upon country rum, through the States, yet the trade is not destroyed; and if this duty is assessed on molasses, it is evident from these facts that the importation will not be diminished. It is considered by gentlemen as a necessary article of life—if this is granted, it must also be allowed, that a great proportion is consumed through the States—and where molasses is not used, it is more than balanced by Sugar—as that pays a higher duty.

It has been said, that this duty will be burthensome, as it will oblige the merchants to encrease their capitals—but this objection applies to other branches, and must be submitted to, or we must relinquish the idea of a revenue. The complaint respecting the fishermen appears ill founded, as no draw back is now allowed on the duty paid on rum consumed by them. The objection urged against the tax on account of smuggling (from the bulk and weight of this article), can not be considered as formidable. Mr. Madison was opposed to the substitute mentioned, an excise at the distill head, at present.

There was, he observed, an excise already upon rum in the States; but molasses, he believed, was free—and if a duty was now laid upon the latter, he had no doubt of an encrease in the sale of rum. Should this article be struck out of the report, it would be sacrificing the interest of three millions of people to support the interest of the distillers. This duty will not bear harder on the eastern than other exactions will on the southern States—he was therefore against a diminution of the six cents, or striking out the article.

Mr. AMES observed, that the Constitution under which this House was now deliberating was the result of commercial necessity—that from the opinion he had formed, and from the evidence he

had received, he had been led to suppose that the sentiments of that house perfectly corresponded with the ideas of their constituents, that to revive, protect and encourage the commerce, navigation, agriculture, and manufactures of the Union, were among the great objects for which the Constitution had been adopted.—The fishery he observed, was one of the most important among those objects.—Gentlemen on all hands, realized this truth.—Of all the various branches of business carried on in the United States, none perhaps had suffered more than the fisheries—shut out from the English ports entirely, and admitted into those of our allies upon severe restrictions, this most beneficial business had rapidly declined—was daily growing worse, and if loaded with additional burthens would be totally destroyed—this business employed 26,000 tons of shipping, and a great number of the poorer, though important part of the community, and was a nursery for seamen, which it had been the policy of the wisest nations to cherish and encourage—these vessels made four fairs annually, and took upon an average upwards of 400,000 quintals of fish—the greatest part of the fish could be sold in no other market but the West-Indies, and there molasses was the only return that could be obtained; this molasses was consumed in its original state in great quantities by the fishermen. The exportation of the fish employed nearly as much shipping as was engaged in taking it, several important mechanical branches depended upon, and were inseparably connected with this particular business.—If a doubt therefore could be raised upon the expediency of adopting a measure, that might essentially injure an interest so extensive, gentlemen could not think of being tenacious of such a measure. Mr. Ames thought he could raise such a doubt.—The Honorable Gentleman from Virginia had asked, how it was to be accounted for, that this business should be able to support itself before the revolution, when molasses paid a duty and foreign rum was free? To this Mr. Ames replied, that previous to the war, the business was carried on under a variety of advantages, which it was now deprived of, that the best markets were entirely cut off—Newfoundland, Quebec, those great marts we were excluded from.—He adduced a variety of other reasons why the present state of the business, would bear no comparison with its former situation, and then added, that to other present embarrassments, it was to be apprehended, that we might shortly be deprived of the only market left us for the principle part of our fish—as the merchants at L'Orient had represented to government, that it would be for the interest of their colonies to distill their molasses in the Islands, and that upon the strength of this idea, distill houses were erecting in those Islands. It had been objected, that encouraging the manufacture of country rum would diminish the revenue by lessening the consumption of foreign spirits—to this Mr. Ames replied, that he was happy to find that the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia, upon the use of brandy, furnished a full answer to this objection, and that was, that although brandy had paid no duty there, and Jamaica spirits an high one, yet the use of brandy did not increase, and the importation bore no proportion to West-India spirits—the truth was, the consumption of that country rum was not fashionable, and therefore would never be extensive, it was considered as noxious—it was offensive, and it was disreputable to use it—much had been said against the use of spiritous liquors—Mr. Ames was in sentiment with those opposed to their consumption—but at the present moment, gentlemen did not mean to take up the subject in a moral point of view—revenue was the great object now before them, and as it respected that, he conceived, the duty on an article which would amount to a prohibition, attended with the disagreeable consequences pointed out, must be impolitic. Mr. Ames next proceeded to consider the article of molasses as a necessary of life—necessaries he defined, such articles as are found salutary, and enter into the daily and common sustenance of all ranks, and more especially of the poorer classes of citizens—Some kind of sweetening was universally allowed to be of this description—Molasses therefore from its wholesome qualities, and its cheapness, was used very extensively by the people of the New-England States—it was used not merely as sugar, but entered into their food in a variety of ways—and was their only substitute for malt in the making of beer—the articles used in brewing at the southward were exempted from duty, and he conceived no good reason could be assigned, why a difference should be made between the common drink, of one part of the continent and that of another. This duty would operate as a very partial tax, in as much as in addition to it, the eastern States paid their full proportion upon all other articles.

From the foregoing observations, Mr. Ames concluded, that as the navigation of the Union, and more especially the eastern fisheries, would be so materially affected and injured by this partial duty—as it was an object of importance to encourage extensive manufactures—as it could not possibly enter in the views of the House to tax, heavily tax, the necessities of life—as this duty was so over-proportioned to the rest of the system—he was decidedly opposed to the sum of six cents per gallon on molasses—he mentioned one cent, or that it

should be included in non enumerated articles.

Mr. SYLVESTER observed, he thought that the House was ripe for a decision—gentlemen differed so widely, that he despaired of getting better information—he was therefore in favor of, and would propose a medium duty to save time.

Mr. MADISON still advocated the duty, and as he supposed it a reasonable one, he wished that it might now be fixed, as gentlemen must be sensible that variations in the revenue laws would be sacrificing our best friends—Mr. Madison observed, that the exports from Massachusetts were not one third so much as those from Virginia, and that consequently her imports were proportionably greater, and her burthen of taxes enhanced: He further observed, that he considered that the poor of one state was upon a par with those of another, and therefore could not see the propriety of any distinction's being made.

Mr. FITZSIMONS was opposed to any diminution. The duty, he observed, would not fall on the manufacturer, but on the consumer of the article; and as more than 1000000 gallons of rum would be exported, on which a drawback would be allowed, he could not think the duty would fall so heavy: He observed, that the present trade was greater than it was before the war: That there could be no revenue without taxing necessities: The tax on fishermen for this article, would not be more than 3-4th of a dollar pr. annum; and he conceived it was local to oppose it.

Mr. GOODHUE observed, That the duty on Molasses had been passed over, to give gentlemen time, who expected information on the subject from their constituents at the eastward; but the post on Saturday had not brought any dispatches on the subject. He would therefore, he observed, endeavour to give the House all the information upon the subject, at present in his possession: Molasses, Sir, is the production almost altogether of the French West-India Islands; and is purchased chiefly for fish and lumber. The fish which is exchanged for it, is of inferior quality, by reason of being caught and cured in the hottest of the season, that none but the negroes of those islands can be induced to make use of it.

We are restricted by the French from taking any production in exchange for our commodities from those Islands but this article, the rum made from it, and salt. The only reason for allowing us to vend our fish there is, to take off their superfluous articles—their policy having prohibited the importation of molasses and rum into the mother country, lest it should interfere with their wines and brandies: From these facts, it is evident, that the fishery rests on the molasses business. They stand, or fall together.

But, Mr. Speaker, molasses is a necessary of life, when used in substance, particularly so to the poorer class of the people in the eastern States, who use it instead of sugar: the duty of 6 cents is 30 pr. cent. on its value—equal to the duty on rum, and double to that on sugar: even luxuries are not taxed so high. Massachusetts imports 3000000 gallons of molasses, annually, which at 6 cents, would be 1800000 dollars; more than Pennsylvania pays on rum and sugar together. This article has never been rated high by any of the states: a plain proof that the sense of the people is not in favour of so exorbitant a duty. We ought to be circumspect in the business before us; nor give just cause of uneasiness to our constituents; especially at the commencement of the Constitution: for though I would not venture to say, that Massachusetts would not be as quiescent and submissive to every measure of Congress, as any state in the union, yet I must say, that they will consider this duty, or any thing near it, as injurious to their trade, fisheries and manufactures, and contrary to the principles of justice, or national policy. It has been said, that Massachusetts ought not to complain, as the amount of her imports are not more than one third the amount of those in Virginia; but the gentleman has brought no evidence to prove it: I can say, Sir, and I believe upon good grounds, that the imports quite as much. This duty is compared to the duty on shoes, and candles; but Sir, one cargo of molasses would pay as much at 6 cents duty, as the whole quantity of candles probably imported into Virginia in a year. I beg leave to add one more observation—it is, that the British Parliament imposed, at one time, 3 pence sterl. a gallon on molasses—Not one farthing of duty was collected, while it continued so high, so odious was it to all ranks of people; and they were compelled to lower it to 1 penny.—I hope we shall learn wisdom from the example.

Mr. GERRY observed, that he was in favor of a revenue by impost, except on necessities, and raw materials, because on all other articles it may be considered as a voluntary tax, for the person who was finally to pay it, had it in his power to avoid the tax, by not consuming the articles dutied; but it must be admitted, that imposts were burthensome on commerce, as the importer must advance the duty, and that being usually raised from some of the dutied articles, would oblige him to force a sale to a loss: It must also be admitted, that he would be subject to bad debts, and that the imposts thereon would be his loss. It was therefore necessary to be judicious in choosing the articles, and in determining the quantity of impost, for it might

otherwise destroy the source of this revenue. The precaution he thought had not been taken, in dutying molasses: The trade itself was in Massachusetts at a low ebb, and could hardly be supported. Should a duty of 6 cents pr. gallon be now levied, a cargo and outfit, of 100000 lawful, which would procure about 22,000 gallons of molasses, would pay 3961. duties, being nearly 40 pr. cent. on the capital: In addition to the premium of insurance and sailors wages, which must always be paid on the arrival of the vessel, the merchant must now raise money to pay the impost, which would greatly distress him in the present scarcity of specie—infer on him a considerable loss, and discourage the trade: and the evil would not terminate here for a large quantity of this article was consumed by the poor of the seaports, who to subsist themselves and their families, were under the necessity of qualifying with it their indian meal, and other articles, not being able to procure flour or meal, and they used it with water, and in their beer, which being generally made of spruce, or hops, were no breweries, he said, in that part of the continent; and this he considered as a misfortune, but by no means a sufficient reason for thus taxing the poor. If a proposition should be made for laying a duty on the ordinary beer used by the poor of other States; or if beef and pork could not be procured among ourselves in sufficient quantities, and it should be proposed to lay an impost on those articles, would not gentlemen, from all quarters, consider it as oppressive—surely they would—and must be so considered in the present case—for molasses was a necessary ingredient of the food and drink of the poorest people of some of the States; and the loading this article with so high a duty, would so raise its price, as to lessen the consumption, and thus be an additional discouragement to the trade; but the evil would be still more extensive. The distillers now purchased molasses in the Eastern States, free of duty, and an impost of 6 cents pr. gallon, would raise it 30 pr. cent. and render it necessary for distillers to have capital proportionably larger, or to manufacture less rum. This circumstance, and the decision of the House not to allow a debenture on rum exported, will lessen the demand of molasses for distilling, and prove a further discouragement to the trade: true it is that rum is injurious to our citizens, but the establishment of distilleries, as well as the importation of rum, has had the sanction of our laws, and therefore the distillers are not chargeable with the evil. If it is necessary at once to destroy these manufactories, the proprietors ought in justice to be reimbursed the cost thereof by the public; but if the article is still to be in use amongst us, should not good policy induce us to give a preference to our own manufactures? It must then be evident this duty, by discouraging, will greatly lessen the molasses trade, and with it the demand for fish, which is exported for the purchase of that article. The fishery is already distressed, by the restrictions and impositions of the nations who are endeavoring to rival us, and who apply as a bounty on their own fish, the duties imposed on ours; and if the demand should cease for a considerable part of our fish, which can only be carried to the West-India markets: This important branch can no longer be supported: This duty moreover would take from every fisherman, who with his family, will consume about 30 gallons of molasses a year, about two dollars, which will in effect operate as a poll tax: Already have propositions been made to some of our merchants in that branch, to remove to Nova Scotia—and such discouragements would promote the emigration of our fishermen: The loss of the fishery would extend itself to ship building, there being at least 27,000 tons of shipping employed in taking, and half as much more in carrying to market that article: The ship-builders therefore, and the numerous mechanics dependent on shipping, would be immediately affected by this duty; and it would extend itself through the whole system of the eastern commerce: The inequality of this duty is evident by comparing it with the impost on sugar, which is only one sixth of its value, whilst that on molasses is one third, and sugar is a luxury, whilst molasses is not. If the full force of these objections should not be admitted, no one can deny, that there will be a risk in adopting the measure proposed: And are we not hazarding the disaffection of the numerous citizens concerned in the molasses trade, fishery, distilleries and ship-building, who warmly advocated, and expected benefit from the constitution; when the impost proposed will defeat itself, surely it can never be good policy to lay the duty so high, as to exceed the risk of smuggling. If the risk is 5 pr. cent. and the duty 40 pr. cent. there can be no doubt that the merchant will smuggle the molasses more especially as he will consider himself oppressed, and will be compelled to do this, or to give up the trade; and if we multiply revenue officers, till they eat up the revenue, they will not be able to prevent the measure: It must appear then, that in lieu of this high duty, we impose a moderate excise on rum, or a small impost on molasses, we shall not only avoid the injuries which will otherwise extend to our commerce, but shall also greatly increase the revenue itself: He therefore moved that the words "on molasses 6 cents" should be struck out.

Committee of the Representatives.

Hon. Mr. JAY.

Gen. KNOX.

Chancellor LIVINGSTON,

Several gentlemen of distinction.

When within a proper distance of the State-House, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, THE PRESIDENT passing through, was conducted into the Senate Chamber, and introduced to both Houses of Congress.

Immediately after, accompanied by the two Houses, he was conducted into the Gallery adjoining the Senate Chamber, and fronting Broad-Street, where, in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens, the Oath, prescribed by the Constitution, was administered to him by the Hon. R. R. LIVINGSTON, Esq. Chancellor of the State of New-York.

The Chancellor then proclaimed him THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, which was followed by the instant discharge of 13 cannon, and loud repeated shouts: THE PRESIDENT bowing to the people, the air again rang with their acclamations: He then retired with the two Houses to the Senate Chamber, where he made the following SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE,
AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES;

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month.—On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected: All I dare hope, is, that, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe; who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for their essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to preface. These reflections arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President to "recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side no local prejudices, or attachments—no separate views, no party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on the other, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world—I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage, between genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good.

For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lesson of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives, it concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably concluded in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together—I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Excellency the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and both Houses of Congress, then went to St. Paul's Chapel, where divine service was performed, by the Right Rev. Dr. PROVOST, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State, and Chaplain to the Senate.

The religious solemnity being ended, the President was escorted to his residence.

Yesterday morning THE PRESIDENT received the compliments of His Excellency the Vice President, His Excellency the Governor of this State; the principal Officers of the different Departments; the foreign Ministers; and a great number of other persons of distinction.

We are informed, that THE PRESIDENT has assigned every Tuesday and Friday, between the hours of two and three, for receiving visits; and that visits of compliment on other days, and particularly on Sundays, will not be agreeable to him.

It seems to be a prevailing opinion, that so much of THE PRESIDENT's time will be engaged by the various and important business, imposed upon him by the Constitution, that he will find himself constrained to omit returning visits, or accepting invitations to entertainments.

The transparent paintings exhibited in various parts of the city, on Thursday evening, were equal at least, to any thing of the kind ever before seen in America.

That displayed before the Fort at the bottom of Broad-way, did great honor to its inventors and executors, for the ingenuity of the design, and goodness of the workmanship; it was finely lighted and advantageously situated: The virtues, FORTITUDE, JUSTICE, and WISDOM, were judiciously applied; of the first, all America has had the fullest evidence; and with respect to the two others, who does not entertain the most pleasing anticipations.

* THE PRESIDENT. † THE SENATE. ‡ THE REPRESENTATIVES of the United States.

His Excellency DON GARDOQUI's residence next caught the eye—and fixed it in pleasing contemplation: The *Tout-en-semble* here, formed a most brilliant front; the figures well fancied, THE GRACES, suggested the best ideas; and the pleasing variety of emblems, flowers, shrubbery, arches, &c. and above all the MOVING PICTURES, that figured in the windows, or as it were in the back ground, created by fixing the transparencies between the windows, afforded a new—an animated, and enchanting spectacle.

The residence of his Excellency, COUNT MOUSTIER, was illuminated in a style of novel elegance; the splendid bordering of lamps round the windows, doors, &c. with the fancy pieces in each window; and above all the large designs in front, the allusions, of which we cannot at present particularly describe, did great honor to the taste and sentiment of the inventor.

The above two instances of attention to honor this great and important occasion, so highly interesting to our "dear country," evince the friendship, the delicacy and politeness of our illustrious allies.

The portrait of "THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY" exhibited in Broad-Street, was extremely well executed, and had a fine effect.

There was an excellent Transparency, also shewn at the Theatre, and at the corner, near the Fly-Market: In short, emulation and ingenuity were alive; but perhaps were in no instance exhibited to greater advantage than in the display of the Fire Works, which, from one novelty to another, continued for two hours, to surprize, by variety, taste, and brilliancy.

The illumination of the Federal State House, was among the most agreeable of the exhibitions of the evening; and the ship Carolina formed a beautiful pyramid of Stars: The evening was fine—the company innumerable—every one appeared to enjoy the scene, and no accident casts the smallest cloud upon the retrospect.

ARRIVALS.

At the Port of New-York.

Wednesday. Brig Minerva, Bell, Cape de Verdes, 39 days.
Sloop Mary, Daun, St. John's.
Ann, Lyburn, Turks-Island, 15 days.
Friday. Sloop Peggy, Cahoon, Rhode-Island, 1 day.
Defiance, Drew, Baltimore.
Friendship, Savanna.

[Several other gentlemen spake upon both sides of this question; but our limits will not admit of inserting their observations.]

The question being taken, the duty was continued at 6 cents.

Mr. SHERMAN moved, that card wire be added to the articles exempted from Impost—which was acceded to.

The House having proceeded through the remainder of the report (except the duty on tonnage, which was postponed) appointed Mr. CLYMER, Mr. WHITE, and Mr. BALDWIN, a committee, to draft and report a bill.

A resolution of the Senate was then read, purporting that they had appointed Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. IZARD, and Mr. MACLAY a committee, to determine and report, respecting the papers in the late Secretary's office. The House concurred, and appointed Mr. TRUMBULL, Mr. CADWALLADER, and Mr. JACKSON, to join the committee of the Senate.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29.

A letter from MATTHIAS OGDEN, Esq. of New-Jersey, addressed to the Speaker, inclosing a petition and remonstrance of a number of citizens of New-Jersey, alledging, that certain irregularities had prevailed at their late election, and that undue means has been used to bias the voters; also complaining of the return made by the Governor, was read, together with the petition, and committed to the committee of elections.

The House took up the consideration of the resolution of the Senate for attending divine service, in St. Paul's church, immediately after the oath is administered to the President, and concurred therewith.

A committee was appointed to prepare an estimate of the probable amount of the revenue on impost, agreeably to the duties lately agreed to; and to procure an estimate of the public debt.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1789.

The Speech of the President, to the two Houses of Congress yesterday, was read, and referred to a committee of the whole House.

The House then resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. PAGE took the chair.

Mr. MADISON then introduced a resolution to the following effect, viz.

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that a select committee of the House be appointed, to prepare an address to the President, congratulating him on his appointment to the office of President of these States by the unanimous voice of his countrymen—expressing the approbation of the House of the liberal and patriotic sentiments, contained in his speech, and their concurrence in every plan which he has or may propose, to secure the liberties, promote the harmony, and advance the happiness and prosperity of their country.—His resolution being adopted, the committee was dissolved, and the Speaker resumed the chair—when the following gentlemen were elected a committee, agreeably to the resolve—Mr. MADISON, Mr. CLYMER, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. BENSON, Mr. GALE.

A proposition for the appointment of a committee, to take into consideration, what compensation shall be made to the President for his services, was after some conversation referred to a committee of the whole upon the state of the Union.

Upon motion of Mr. SHERMAN, to take up the order of the day—it was voted to come to the choice of a Chaplain—the ballots being collected—the Reverend Mr. LINN was chosen.

Adjourned until Monday.

NEW-YORK, MAY 2.

On Thursday last, agreeably to the resolution of both Houses of Congress, the inauguration of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES was solemnized.

At nine o'clock, A. M. the people assembled in the several churches, with the Clergy of the respective denominations, to implore the blessing of Heaven upon the new government, its favor and protection to the PRESIDENT, and success and acceptance to his administration.

About twelve o'clock the procession moved from the House of the President, in Cherry-Street—through Queen, Great-Dock and Broad Streets, to the Federal State House, in the following order:

Col. LEWIS,

Attended by two Officers.

Capt. STAKES,

With the Troop of Horse.

Artillery.

Major VAN HORNE.

Grenadiers, under Capt. HARSIN,

German Grenadiers, under Capt. SCRIBA.

Major BICKER.

The Infantry of the Brigade.

Major CHRYSTIE.

Sheriff.

Committee of the Senate.

Civil Officers. } Assistants. } PRESIDENT. } Assistants. } Civil Officers.

"It is by no means fortune that rules the world; for this we may appeal to several nations, who have had a long series of prosperities, when they acted upon a certain plan; and an uninterrupted course of misfortunes, when they conducted themselves upon another. There are general causes, natural or moral, which operate in every state; which raise, support or overturn it."

IT is the opinion of many philosophic men, that society has not seen its best days. Such an idea must not be considered as the rhapsody of an enthusiast, or the dream of a poet. The fatal declension of states may be rationally accounted for, without presupposing any essential propensity, in individuals or communities, to fall into excessive depravity. It strikes the view of even a careless observer, that no age or nation has exhibited a perfect specimen of a people, who have combined a full knowledge of the human character, with a thorough knowledge of the principles of government. In all periods of the world, there has been an astonishing deficiency in one of those respects, and very often in both. Morality has seldom been held in estimation as a science. Men of genius and leisure have too much employed their attention, upon those abstract sciences, which have no influence upon the happiness of society; or in framing systems of religious delusion, which are not calculated to promote the best interest of rational beings. The improvements of the moral faculty have not kept pace with the attainments of the intellectual. This important acquisition seems to have been reserved for the present, or some future age. It will be the result of a superior degree of knowledge, both with respect to men and government.

The human mind seems to be changing its course of thinking. Legislators know how to manage more skillfully the vices, the passions, and the weaknesses of men. They do not as formerly waste their time in lamenting, in unavailing complaints, the want of patriotism; which, according to the common application of the word, has been one of the most terrible scourges, that ever punished the wickedness or tormented the peace of society. When we look back to the history of nations, the most celebrated for this virtue, we should conclude from their conduct, that men were only born to make each other wretched. We will however shut our eyes against these horrid scenes of antiquity; and anticipate the period, when reason and philosophy shall bear some sway, in the management of human affairs. It will then begin to be known, that the human race were created for some other purpose, than to persecute and devour one another. Should that happy hour ever arrive, good men will wish, that for the honor of human nature, a veil might be forever thrown over past transactions.

"Warm from the heart—and true to all its fires."

The following ADDRESS was presented to his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, soon after his departure from Mount Vernon, on his journey to this city.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE, PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, &c. &c.

AGAIN your country demands your care.—Obedient to its wishes—unmindful of your own ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose.

Not to extol your glory as a soldier: Not to pour forth our gratitude for past services: Not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the Supreme Magistracy: Not to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your Neighbours and Friends now address you.—Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds.—The first and best of citizens must leave us! Our Aged must lose their Ornament! Our Youth their Model! Our Agriculture its Improver! Our Commerce its Friend! Our Infant Academy its Patron! Our Poor their Benefactor! And the interior Navigation of the Potomac, an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use—its Inauguration and Promoter!

Farewell!—Go—and make a grateful people happy—a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may He restore to us again the best of Men, and the most beloved Fellow Citizen.

In behalf of the People of Alexandria,
DENNIS RAMSAY, Mayor.

April 16, 1789.

To the MAYOR, CORPORATION, and CITIZENS of ALEXANDRIA.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH I ought not conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt, in being called upon to determine whether I would accept, or refuse, the Presidency of the United States.

The unanimity in the choice—the opinion of my friends communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as America—the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the Constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire, on my own part, to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, "never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature."

For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection: And my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge for my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret, at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you, to the protection of that benignant Being, who on a former occasion, hath happily bro't us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heart felt felicity. But words, my Fellow Citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence, while, from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate Friends, and kind Neighbours, farewell!

G. WASHINGTON.

NATIONAL MONITOR.

NUMBER II.

"No incidental events can make a nation little, while the principles remain, that made it great."

AS America is just setting out in her political course as a nation, it is of infinite importance to her future welfare, that her first principles should be drawn from the best sources—that they should bear the impressions of truth and right reason—These are superior guides to all the experience of ancient times—the force of precedent and power of example.

The revolution of America is not the effect of causes that have operated to produce those mighty changes, which have marked the fluctuating periods of other nations. Ambition, fraud, and violence—faction, ignorance, and accident, have at different intervals, boasted the power to overturn one kingdom, and erect and establish another; but the dismemberment of this Western Empire from the crown of Britain, was the result of sentiment—a laborious investigation of the principles of Liberty, and the Rights of Humanity: Information and wisdom marked the road—Justice and fortitude supported our foot-steps—and the favour of Heaven to our spirit, enterprise, and bravery, carried us triumphantly through.—Crowned with Peace, Liberty, and Independence, fairy land, and utopian prospects, cheated our deluded imaginations, till we almost began to doubt the eligibility of our present situation, compared to our former one.—Happily for us and our posterity, ere the Demon of Anarchy had worked up the political follies of the day to a phrenzy, we were arrested in our career to ruin.—And now, what are our prospects? All that wisdom, virtue, and patriotism, can fancy or desire.

Dispersed in principles, manners, views, and habits—Say, do we at this day feel the force of any of those maxims as a nation, which can make a people great? I think we do. It must be acknowledged, that a sense of the importance of Government, to preserve life, liberty and property, appears to pervade the mind of the people through the Union. This is a proper foundation, upon which may be reared the pillars of National Justice, National Happiness, and National Security: This principle has produced wonderful effects already—and it is the broadest basis on which to erect national habits, manners and sentiments. A proper idea of the necessity and importance of a firm, efficient Government, is perhaps the strongest barrier to licentiousness, faction, and loss of freedom, that Deity itself can create: This is that principle for America, which will render her durably great and glorious.

C.

GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES. A NATIONAL PAPER.

To be published at the SEAT of the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, and to comprise, as fully as possible, the following Objects, viz.

I. EARLY and authentic Accounts of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS—its LAWS, ACTS, and RESOLUTIONS, communicated so as to form an HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS of the FEDERAL LEGISLATURE, under the NEW CONSTITUTION.

II. IMPARTIAL SKETCHES of the DEBATES of CONGRESS.

III. ESSAYS upon the great subjects of Government in general, and the Federal Legislature in particular; also upon the national and local Rights of the AMERICAN CITIZENS, as founded upon the Federal or State Constitutions; also upon every other Subject, which may appear suitable for newspaper discussion.

IV. A SERIES of PARAGRAPHS, calculated to catch the "LIVING MANNERS AS THEY RISE," and to point the political attention to Objects that have an important reference to domestic, social, and public happiness.

V. The Interests of the United States as connected with their literary Institutions—religious and moral Objects—Improvements in Science, Arts, EDUCATION and HUMANITY—their foreign Treaties, Alliances, Connections, &c.

VI. Every Species of INTELLIGENCE, which may affect the commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, or political INTERESTS of the AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

VII. A CHAIN of DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES, collected through the Medium of an extensive Correspondence with the respective States.

VIII. A SERIES of FOREIGN ARTICLES of INTELLIGENCE, so connected, as to form a general Idea of public Affairs in the eastern Hemisphere.

IX. The STATE of the NATIONAL FUNDS; also of the INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS—Courses of Exchange—Prices Current, &c.

CONDITIONS.

I.

THE GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES shall be printed with the same Letter, and on the same Paper as this publication.

II.

It shall be published every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY, and delivered, as may be directed, to every Subscriber in the city, on those days.

III.

The price to Subscribers (exclusive of postage) will be THREE DOLLARS per annum.

IV.

The first semi-annual payment to be made in three months from the appearance of the first number.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Will be received in all the capital towns upon the Continent; also at the City-Coffee-House, and at No. 86, William-Street, until the 1st of May, from which time at No. 9, Maiden-Lane, near the Old Bow-Market, New-York.

N. B. By a new Arrangement made in the Stages, Subscribers at a distance will be duly furnished with papers.

POSTSCRIPT.—A large impression of every number will be struck off, so that Subscribers may always be accommodated with complete Sets.

To the PUBLICK.

AT this important Crisis, the ideas that fill the mind, are pregnant with Events of the greatest magnitude—to strengthen and complete the UNION of the States—to extend and protect their COMMERCE, under equal Treaties yet to be formed—to explore and arrange the NATIONAL FUNDS—to restore and establish the PUBLIC CREDIT—and ALL under the auspices of an untried System of Government, will require the ENERGIES of the Patriots and Sages of our Country—Hence the propriety of encreasing the Mediums of Knowledge and Information.

AMERICA, from this period, begins a new Era in her national existence—"THE WORLD IS ALL BEFORE HER"—The wisdom and folly—the misery and prosperity of the EMPIRES, STATES, and KINGDOMS, which have had their day upon the great Theatre of Time, and are now no more, suggest the most important Mementos—These, with the rapid series of Events, in which our own Country has been so deeply interested, have taught the enlightened Citizens of the United States, that FREEDOM and GOVERNMENT—LIBERTY and LAWS, are inseparable.

This Conviction has led to the adoption of the New Constitution; for however various the Sentiments, respecting the MERITS of this System, all GOOD MEN are agreed in the necessity that exists, of an EFFICIENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

A paper, therefore, established upon NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT, and IMPARTIAL PRINCIPLES—which shall take up the premised Articles, upon a COMPETENT PLAN, it is presumed, will be highly interesting, and meet with public approbation and patronage.

The Editor of this Publication is determined to leave no avenue of Information unexplored.—He solicits the assistance of Persons of leisure and abilities—which, united with his own assiduity, he flatters himself will render the Gazette of the United States not unworthy general encouragement—and is, with due respect, the public's humble servant,
JOHN FENNO.

New-York, April 15, 1789.

TWO YOUNG SPRIGHTLY LADS ARE wanted, as APPRENTICES to the Business of Printing.

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